244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It 244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that 789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing [386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red 824] wood, ba-ayǎ́; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayá́. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the [823] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or shé draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the [833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844 834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayǐe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it [386] is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etõ'b-mabă).

291 The belt (kă'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

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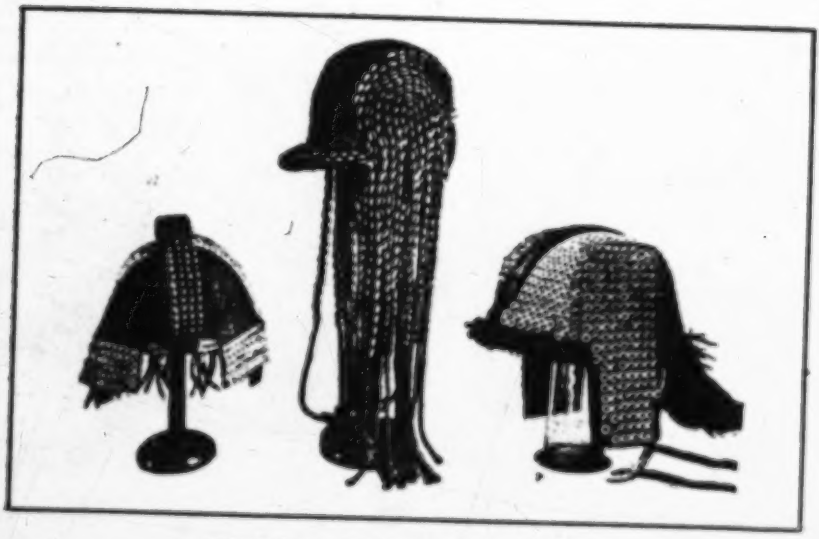

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of *mourning are both taken off* -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edȱban, etūe'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 124

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plants (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot

1. Combretacea Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akɔ̄́m), Euphorbiaceae Bridelia zenkeri Pax. (ewɔ̄́lɔ̌́k), Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abūī, Ntum), Megabarea trillesii Pierre (abūī-žǎm), Leguminosa Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kɔ́ndɔ̄́ɔ́-žǎm), Borraginacea Cordia odorata Gürke (ébē, Fang, ebǎī, Ntum), Anacardiacea Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angɔ̌kɔ̄́ń), Flacourtiacea Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń).

in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
322 (bendõ[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

• 386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvõ' IV Fang, mvẽ IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīăk-esī, IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (nīĕ-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebā'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
415 the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vūok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfĭ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

/195/

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Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

386
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Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndùtó'lɔ̌ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ myǎn̂ (plural) by the Ntum, endǒ'n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsa̋ III Ntum, endǒ'n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okǒn e myǎn̂), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obɛ̌'ndɛ'm (1) or fi'na IV (2), as well as mfi'na; among

1. Derived from abɛ̌, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndɛ̌m, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yɛ̌'n, "dark, black"; e-yɛ̌'n-di mɔ̋t, "Black (man), Negro."

the Ntum it is called abe ndĕm or kūdemă'n IV.

The names fi na (mfi'na) and kūdemă'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

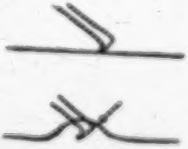

Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwák IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare a-kō-k, "grindstone."

legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

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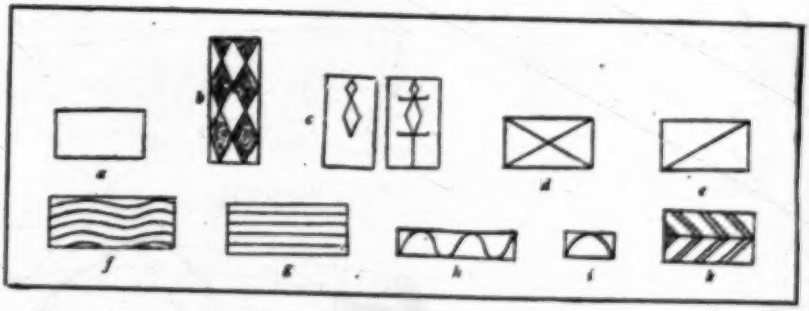

Fig. 196. Basic Patterns of the Art of Decorating Bark.

The type and development of the patterns vary with the material, which may be bark, wood, raffia stalk, clay, metal, and human skin. At the same time there seems to be a certain connection between bark and wood on the one hand and between metal and human skin (decorative scars) on the other -- a connection which finds expression in similar patterns. The detailed description of the patterns will, therefore, proceed from the point of view of the material.

1. Bark patterns.

In the Pangwe region there are peculiar bark plates with painted areas framed by raffia leafstalk strips or palm bands. The plates are attached to the outer or inner walls of meeting houses and more rarely to the outer wall of dwellings. These decorative bark pieces are widespread, but they do not occur frequently and by no means in every village for even the artistic sense for bark ornamentation is a specialty, and the artists concerned are thinly distributed over the land. Concerning the manufacture of these plates, I have already said everything necessary on page 215, and I shall only reiterate here that everywhere among the Pangwe the colors used (see pages 198-199) are red, white, and black. Only in one single case did I [386] observe a bright blue-gray, which was derived from an argillaceous earth of that color. /245/

The division into areas /Ed., in German, Felderung/ displays a series of patterns that correspond to the material used in house construction. They are:

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824] The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké • downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dyeing it with baa. [386] A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvɛ," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[76] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbɛmbɛ! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebɛ and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with bana (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
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1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

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mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayɔ̂n é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

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Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

[787]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

is deserving, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The *Ngi* or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to *appear ebony* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *ebony* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able